1:Sanders Z-5,f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers.

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day."

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road:

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products.

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense.

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach.

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

[1] [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her.

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula:

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name].

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men). Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

Local Support for the School

Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8]

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background:

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians.

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained:

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself.

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching.

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 156 [212] [369] 875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

872 873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her children how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17]

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level.

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words:

> If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

593
571
583 sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never under-
425 taken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

574 The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwell-
369 ers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least
602 twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and some-
593 times for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several
[874] months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

369 All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or
574 longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and
513 train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy.
[571] In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, in-
[593] cluding Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

369 Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by
602 the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by
[574] correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers
[212] are willing to carry messages.
[203] Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the
[554]

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

533
765
[535]
[585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

212●
793
875
517
[426]
[544]
[538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

212
517
857
[354]
[204]
[521]

/70 cont./
Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies. But the floors still remain the same mud built.

362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses.

871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write.

212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life.

875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother

[554] [793] [275]

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are reported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no opportunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible, which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care, when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private opinion on international and national events and policies; politics, well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers. A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the difference.

In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level. Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satisfaction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading. The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and scholarly standard.

RELIGION

Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks; and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greekness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are [illegible] since they do not conform to the tradition of [illegible]